2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

561 701 riors to the exclusion of other classes above them. Their status is that of trainees in the case of junior initiates, and of full warriors in the case of senior initiates. Although it is not incorrect to state that they are in a condition of conscripts it is wrong to say that military activity is solely their privilege.

[62] Residential segregation is generally connected with the military activity of the initiates. MERKER states that the *manyat* were ordinarly situated in the strategic positions of the country.[146]

561 But there are other points to show that this segregation was not intended only for military purposes. Thus the initiates are not allowed to form their own family until they are elders. They are

[262] also forbidden to eat meat "seen by women", and because their mothers and girls reside with them in their village, the initiates hold their meat festivals on their own in a secluded place. Similarly, they are not allowed to have milk unless they are in groups of two or three at least.[147]

It is difficult to see any relationship between these restrictions and the initiates' military activity. It seems evident that members of the age-units are still considered not sufficiently qualified to deal with cattle, and matters connected with them such as meat and milk, with complete freedom. Apparently, they do not have the

[421] full possession of any cattle; the share of their mother's cattle to which they have right remains the property of their fathers until

[721] they get married. And to the father goes the best part of the booty which they take from a raid.[148] Since cattle are the primary source

[593] of wealth and food, we must conclude that the initiates are still in a state of dependence on their fathers socially and economically.

This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that an analogous dependence holds true of their political activity. On this they depend entirely on their *piron*-elders.[149]

[146] The statement is confirmed by HINDE's description *l. c.*, p. 91. He

[361] says that the *manyat* were always built free from any kind of cover, "if possible on a plateau overlooking a good water supply", and "commanding many miles of plain".

[147] The initates have a right to ask everybody for milk which cannot be refused. Generally they address themselves to their *piron*-elders.

[148] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 30: "Das Verdienst der zu Kriegern herangewachsenen Söhne besteht in erbeuteten Vieh und fliesst in der Hauptsache zur Herde des Vaters".

[149] Other restrictions such as the prohibition against snuffing and drin-

[554] king beer, both privileges of the elders, confirm the general status of inferiority of the initiates with relation to the elders.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

is that they receive no benefit from the cattle of their neighbours. "We get neither meat nor milk," they say; "why, therefore, should we fight for the preservation of your cattle?" With a consummate knowledge of the region, the Masai warriors threaded their way by special pathways, passing Taveta, and crossing the Nyika. Nearing the coast, they stowed themselves away in the bush, while a few of the bravest went forward to spy out the land, knowing, however, full well that the very sight of one of their number was quite sufficient to stampede a hundred Wa-nyika or Wa-digo. Sadi, indeed, told me that on one occasion he actually met some of these spies *in the town of Mombasa at midnight*. This is, I think, doubtful, but it shows what they are considered capable of; and there can be no doubt as to the astonishing hardihood of these scouts. Stories are continually heard to that effect, thus rendering the Masai a terror in the land; and it is a fact that they have even reached Bagamoyo, opposite Zanzibar.

The raid was, of course, successful, and our savage friends returned in great glee. On reaching their homes, however, matters had to be squared up, and the spoil divided. So many head of the captured cattle were set apart as the portion of the lybon Mbaratien, who had directed them so well, and whose medicines had been so potent. Then followed a sanguinary scene over the apportionment of the remainder. There was no attempt at a fair division. The braver men and bullies of the party, consulting only their own desires, took possession of such cattle as pleased them, and dared the rest to come and seize them. The understood rule was that if any warrior could hold his own in single combat against all comers for three days, the cattle were his. And thus began the real fighting of the expedition, revealing sickening sights of savage ferocity. There were more warriors killed over the division of the spoil than in the original capturing of it. To kill a man in this manner was considered all fair and above board. Blood feuds were unknown, a man not being considered worth avenging who could not hold his own life safe. If, however, a man was murdered treacherously, the criminal had to pay forty-nine bullocks. Our young warrior, as he was only as yet winning his spurs, had to be content with the honour and glory of the raid, and he had the modesty not to pit himself against abler and more ferocious fighters. It must be remembered that the cattle thus captured did not remain

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
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the property of the successful warriors. A warrior can have no property, and hence they all become his father's.

[421] The spoil being divided, the party were next able to do full honour to the men lost in the raid—those being considered worthy of all praise "who *rush* into the field, and foremost fighting *fall*," while men who die ignobly at home are only worthy to be despised and thrown to the vultures. Hence the warriors howled and jumped into the air in the dance, till the dead were duly commemorated.

In this manner, Moran saw a good deal of fighting, and soon rose to fame in many a campaign to U-kambani, Galla-land, the Coast region, Sûk, Kavirondo, Elgumi, and Nandi. The two latter tribes proved to be the most difficult to deal with, the one from its great numbers, the other from its fighting powers.

Civil war next broke out, and he had to proceed to the assistance of his brethren of Naivasha, who were hard pressed by the Wa-kwafi. In these civil wars, the affair was gone about in a very civilized fashion. Sudden and unexpected attacks were not indulged in. A cause of war was first discovered—probably, as in more civilized countries, merely to keep their hands in or as an outlet for internal unrest. Preliminaries were then settled most amicably, and the stakes arranged. A place was next chosen as the field of battle, and to this all the warriors of the two districts came with their cattle and young women. As the fighting would be protracted, a truce was declared, while kraals were built in the opposing camps. A certain number then proceeded from both sides, and like gladiators in the arena, they closed in furious strife, spurred to deeds of daring by the women on both sides. The Wa-kwafi were the conquerors, and the cattle of the Masai fell into their hands; and following up their advantage, they nearly drove their brethren from the entire region. (Of this war I have already spoken.)

As a mild relief, and a variation from these serious matters, it was the dearest delight of our swaggering young friend Moran to "draw the badger" in the person of the Swahili porters who might be meekly endeavouring to pass through his country. These he would dub "donkeys," in allusion to their being burden-bearers like those interesting quadrupeds. He could keep the kraal in a roar of delight, as he described how he had frightened this one out of his wits, or spitted another on his spear, or smashed the skull of a third into jelly. The senengè and the beads he re-

/212 cont./
593 already been discussed elsewhere (1).

1. Cf. 2nd Part, II, IV, XX.

All disputes arising in this connection are settled by the head of the family without formal procedure.

• 421 The property rights are little developed. There are no provisions with reference to landed property. The pasture land of the district is the common property of all its inhabitants. The plains are so large that there is more than enough pasture for everyone's herds. Property belongs to a single individual, not to the family jointly.
425 A lost article, if the loser lives in the vicinity and is known, will be returned for a reward (for example, for a spear that has been found, a small goat or a piece of meat will be paid as finder's reward). Otherwise the finder keeps it and it is up to him whether or not he ever returns it. If a stolen article is sold, the buyer becomes the owner, while the person stolen from has to look to the thief for compensation. Even up to 30-40 years ago ivory that was found was heedlessly left lying. Then the Masai learned to appreciate its value from the caravans coming from the coast, and it became customary that, of the two tusks of an elephant that was found, one belongs to the finder, the other belongs to the members of his lineage living in the vicinity and known to the finder. The division among
[439] the latter takes place through the exchange of the tusk for livestock
437 with an ivory buyer. Among themselves the /213/ Masai barter
438 only livestock for livestock. A small cow is paid for with a fat ox
[435] for slaughter. In former times, before the rinderpest, when the people still had huge cattle herds but few donkeys, a donkey cost two small cows, whereas now, since the ratio has changed, it is paid for with five goats. A fat goat or a sheep is bought for a male
439 calf two to three months old. In trade with caravans, etc., people regard as trade articles, besides livestock, especially wire of iron, brass, and copper, glass beads, such as have already been mentioned in the enumeration of the ornaments, and, more recently, here and there, also colored cloth, especially the cotton fabrics known by the Suaheli /Swahili/ names schiti, konguru, and gamti. The Masai